

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T LUSAKA 1015

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR RH ZA US UK
SUBJ: OWEN-KAUNDA MEETING

SUMMARY: OWEN AND GRAHAM WERE PLEASED BY THE MEETING WITH KAUNDA, WHO WISHED THEM WELL AND OFFERED HIS SUPPORT. ACCORDING TO THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER, KAUNDA GOT ALONG WELL WITH OWEN. THE DISCUSSION WAS GENERAL, BOUCHING ON HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PLAN AND U.S. INVOLVEMENT. OWEN SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE FIGHTING HAD TO CONTINUE UNTIL THE ELECTION PROCESS BEGAN. KAUNDA DID NOT OBJECT TO OWEN'S VIEW THAT ALL OPINIONS SHOULD BE REPRESENTED. OWEN EXPECTED THAT THE PROCESS AOULD BEGIN WITH A SERIES OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. OWEN ACKNOWLEDGED HIS CHANCES WERE STILL LESS THAN GOOD.
END SUMMARY.

1. THERE WAS ONLY OPPORTUNITY FOR THE BRIEFEST HANDSHAKE WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND JOHN GRAHAM. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 01015 160013Z

SATISFACTION OVER THE MEETINGS WITH KAUNDA AND THEIR FEELING THAT THINGS WERE GOING WELL. BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER MILES FILLED IN THE DETAILS OF IPHE DISCUSSIONS, ALL OF WHICH HE ATTENDED.

2. THE ZAMBIAN SIDE HAD 10 MEMBERS INCLUDING CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS

COMMITTEE DANIEL LISULO; ATTORNEY GENERAL MAINZA CHONA, ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER PAUL LUSAKA AND FOREIGN MINISTRY PERMANENT SECRETARY PUTTEHO NGONDA AS WELL AS THE REGULAR THREE SPECIAL ASSISTANTS, MARK CHONA, DOMINIC MULAISHO AND PUNABANTU.

3. MILES (AND DENNIS GRENNAN) REMARKED ON THE GREAT CONTRAST BETWEEN THIS MEETING AND THEIR LAST SESSION ON THIS SUBJECT, BETWEEN KAUNDA AND IVOR RICHARD. IN THIS CASE, KAUNDA SHOWED NEITHER RANCOR NOR IRRITATION. HE OBVIOUSLY HIT IT OFF WELL WITH OWEN. AT ONE POINT KAUNDA SHOWED THAT HE WAS DEEPLY TOUCHED BY OWEN'S PRESENTATION, HIS APPARENT SENSE OF DETERMINATION AND HUMILITY, AND HE MENTIONED THEIR COMMON OUTLOOK BASED ON THEIR BOTH BEING SINCERE CHRISTIANS.

4. KAUNDA STARTED THE MEETING OFF SAYING HE WAS GLAD TO SEE OWEN IF HE WAS BRINGING SOMETHING CONCRETE. HE THEN PROCEEDED WITH A 40-MINUTE RECITATION OF THE HISTORY OF HIS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE. HE WENT BACK TO THE EARLY 60'S, THROUGH THE CORRESPONDENCE AND MEETINGS WITH VORSTER AND THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMITH AT VICTORIA FALLS, AND ENDING BY CONCLUDING THAT NOW THAT ALL HAD FAILED, THERE WAS NOTHING LEFT FOR ZAMBIA BUT SUPPORT OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE.

5. OWEN PRESENTED HIS PLAN FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE INCLUDING, PROMINENTLY, U.S. INVOLVEMENT WHICH WAS CRUCIAL, PROBABLY AS CO-SPONSOR BUT NOT CO-CHAIRMAN. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN HEARTENED BY HIS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 01015 160013Z

VANCE WHO WERE NOT THINKING OF TERMS OF THE BATTLE OF THE WEST AGAINST COMMUNISM BUT OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO HELP RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF RACISM. KAUNDA AGREED, EXPRESSING HIS ADMIRATION FOR PRESIDENT CARTER WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS "BRINGING FRESH AIR TO CAPITALISM" AND WHOM HE RESPECTED FOR HIS STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

6. OWEN SAID HE HAD NOT COME TO ASK KAUNDA TO STOP THE WAR. HE APPRECIATED WHY THE FIGHTING HAD TO GO ON. IT WOULD NOT BE UNTIL THE ELECTORAL PROCESS BEGAN THAT HE WOULD ASK THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALISTS TO STOP IT. HE DID NOT WANT THE ELECTION TO BE CARRIED OUT UNDER SMITH'S CONTROL. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD NOT BE PRODUCED BY A GENEVA-TYPE CONFERENCE WHERE EVERYONE TRIES TO CONFRONT EACH OTHER. IT MIGHT BE INITIATED BY A SERIES OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. THE CONSTITUTION WHICH WAS PRODUCED MIGHT BE ONE WHICH NO ONE LIKED COMPLETELY, BUT WHICH WAS THE BEST POSSIBLE AND THEREFORE THE ONE WHICH THEY WOULD STAND WITH. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO INVOLVE ALL SHADES OF OPINION, BOTH BLACK AND WHITE. MILES SAID

THERE WAS HARDLY ANY DISCUSSION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.
KAUNDA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT WAS NOT FOR HIM TO CHOOSE THE
LEADERS OF ZIMBABWE.

7. OWEN SAID HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT HOW TO END THE WAR. THE
RESPONSIBLE NATIONALIST LEADERS ALL WANT TO END IT AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE BUT THERE WERE SOME OF THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS WHO
APPEARED TO HAVE ROMANTIC IDEAS. KAUNDA ANSWERED THAT THERE
WOULD BE NO FREEDOM FIGHTERS WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF MOZAMBIQUE
AND BOTSWANA, IMPLYING THAT THE FRONTLINE COUNTRIES COULD
CONTROL THE FIGHTING.

8. OWEN SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE A REFERENDUM WAS THE RIGHT
ANSWER TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MAJORITY RULE AND HE FELT THAT
THE BISHOP WAS COMING AROUND TO THIS POINT OF VIEW. A REFERENDUM
WOULD ONLY CREATE MORE INSTABILITY AND GREATER DIVISIONS.
IT WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO WORLD-WIDE OPINION.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 01015 160013Z

7. MAINZA CHONA ASKED WHY THE AMERICANS WERE BEING BROUGHT IN
AND OWEN ANSWERED BECAUSE OF THEIR POWER. HE SAID IT WOULD
ALSO HELP WITH THE BRITISH CABINET WHICH WAS ONLY PREPARED TO
CONSIDER SUCH A COMMITMENT "IF THE AMERICANS ARE WITH US."

8. THE OIL PROBLEM WAS REFERRED TO ONCE OR TWICE AND OWEN
HIMSELF RAISED IT AT ONE POINT, NOTING THAT HE WAS DETERMINED
TO FIND OUT WHETHER THERE WERE ANY BREACHES OF THE SANCTIONS
BY THE OIL COMPANIES. KAUNDA SAID SIMPLY THAT HE INTENDED TO
PROSECUTE THE COMPANIES AND THAT THE EVIDENCE WOULD COME OUT
AT THAT TIME. OWEN SHOWED NO OBJECTION TO THIS PROCEDURE.

9. AT THE END KAUNDA SAID JIM CALLAGHAN HAD DONE WELL TO CHOOSE
A FOREIGN SECRETARY WITH YOUTH, FRANKNESS AND HONESTY. HE WISHED
HIM LUCK AND PROMISED SUPPORT FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.
THE MEETING BROKE UP IN GOOD SPIRITS THOUGH OWEN ACKNOWLEDGED
THAT HIS CHANCES WERE LESS THAN GOOD.

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